4.4.3 Residential and Commercial Development in the Era of Minority Migration/Immigration and Euro-American Exodus (1920s-1950s)

The 1920s to the 1950s was a period of significant change in Logan Heights, both in the ethnic composition of its residents and in the increase of residential and commercial growth. Several factors, both local and international, affected the commercial and residential composition of the plan area over the span of these decades. In the 30 years that transpired between 1920 and 1950, the country as a whole contended with the end of World War I, the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), the Great Depression, and World War II. The country also witnessed the advent of the automobile and eventually the interstate highway system that allowed for unprecedented mobility of Americans. Factors particularly relevant to the plan area during this period was the importance of the bayfront access and commercial business associated with the US Navy during and after World War II, and the dynamics of ethnicity related to increased opportunities for improved standards of living and relocation. As people became more mobile and could commute greater distances and were no longer dependent upon fixed transportation (i.e., trolley systems), the opportunity for those who could afford to move to outlying areas for better housing in attractive neighborhoods became a reality. Upward social movement, the start of the escape to suburbia, and the evolution of a strong commercial core associated with the bayfront would be factors in the composition of the plan area prior to other changes associated with the division of the Logan Heights neighborhood by Interstate 5 construction in the 1960s.

During this period from the 1920s to the 1950s, Mexican Americans, African Americans, and Asians moved into Logan Heights because it offered low-cost housing left in the wake of Anglo-Americans moving to other areas, and proximity to bayfront and railroad jobs. Even if these minorities had the means to move to newer neighborhoods, restrictive clauses in real estate deeds (particularly against African Americans and Asians) and racial discrimination from real estate agents, bankers, developers, and owners kept most non-whites from living anywhere but the older areas of the city (Harris 1974). By the late 1920s, Logan Heights was considered "the residential section of the negroes, Mexicans and Orientals" (Norris 1983).

Mexican Immigrants and Mexican Americans

At the turn of the 20th century, the Mexican American community was scattered through downtown, the harbor, and present-day northwestern Barrio Logan (Harris 1974). The population of the Mexican American community swelled in the 1920s as increasing numbers of immigrants fled to the United States following the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) and many settled in Logan Heights (Harris 1974:113). Immigrants were attracted by available housing, social and cultural familiarity, and the availability of unskilled occupations such as railroad construction, commercial fishing, local agriculture, building construction, and other commercial businesses and military-related industry (Harris 1974:75, 87). After World War I, the Federal government restricted European and Asian immigration, leaving many open positions in agriculture, railroad maintenance, and mining that Mexican immigrants filled. A survey by the Women's Club of San Diego in 1914 found that "Few Mexicans were found in skilled trades. For the most part they worked with pick and shovel for the gas company, street railway, and on water works, or for general contractors…other Mexicans were employed as teamsters" (Harris 1974).

Immigration declined drastically during the 1930s as the Immigration and Naturalization Service and American Federation of Labor encouraged local governments to round up undocumented Mexicans and

harass them and others into moving back to Mexico (Griswold del Castillo 2007). Many Mexican states offered incentives and transportation for residents to return to Mexico and thousands reversed the migration by going back home (Harris 1974: 77). During these decades, especially prior to World War II, life for Mexican immigrants in Logan Heights could be very difficult because of social issues and job availability. A report written in 1928 describes the community as having "a multitude of undesirable conditions" including substandard housing, malnutrition, unemployment, lack of education, disease, and high infant mortality rate (Griswold del Castillo 2007). The Neighborhood House was established downtown in 1916 to provide assistance to those in need in the Logan Heights community, as part of a countrywide movement to reach out to immigrants and the working classes who were being affected by industrialization and modernization (Griswold del Castillo 2007). The Neighborhood House moved into Logan Heights in the 1920s, occupying the property that had housed the San Diego Free Industrial School at 1809 National Avenue. Well-known San Diego architects Richard S. Requa and Herbert L. Jackson remodeled the Neighborhood House at this time.

The Neighborhood House was operated by European Americans and served Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants, African American migrants and European immigrants. While this charity was open to all, the mission of the organization was essentially focused on Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. By the 1930s, 90 percent of the Neighborhood House clientele were Mexican American or Mexican immigrants (Griswold del Castillo 2007). During the 1930s in particular, when City and national governments were openly hostile to Mexican Americans and were attempting to deport many of them, the Neighborhood House provided health care and other assistance.

During World War II there was a need for agricultural and industrial labor to fill the gap left by deployed forces (Harris 1974:77) and Mexican immigration to the United States rose at this time as a result of the government-backed Bracero program, between 1942 and 1947, which allowed thousands of Mexican workers to come into the country to work. Throughout the 1940s and into the 1950s, Logan Heights contained fifteen percent of San Diego's Spanish-speaking population. The Bracero program was reconstituted in 1951 and operated until 1964, resulting in a large number of immigrants settling in Logan Heights.

By 1946, five of the seven churches in Logan Heights served the Mexican and Mexican American residents: the First Mexican Baptist Church (1895 Kearney), the Mexican Presbyterian Church (1902 Irving), Mexican Free Methodist Church (1902 Irving), the First Seventh Day Adventist Spanish American Church (1861 Logan), and an unnamed Mexican church (2001 Ocean View) (1946 Sanborn).

Plate 9. Street views, plan area, 1920s
(left) Logan Avenue, *courtesy of SDHS (Sensor 8-91)*
(right) 32nd St at Main, looking north, 1920s, *courtesy of SDHS (Sensor 8-12, 84:14998-1013)*

Summary of Trends: Between 1920 and 1950

Throughout the period, the ethnic composition of the neighborhood changed, as Logan Heights witnessed increased residential and commercial growth. A study undertaken in 1930 described what Logan Heights looked like that year:

> Mexicans live in San Diego under conditions that are, possibly, more than usually favorable. Most of them are in the southwestern portion of the city along the waterfront close to the factories and canneries. The streets are wide; sanitation is moderately good. Mexican stores, churches, pool halls, and the Neighborhood House are part of the district. Living conditions are reasonably good. There is little or no serious congestion. The cottage type of house prevails. There are no slum tenements (Griswold del Castillo 2007).

During the Depression, new construction came almost to a standstill with the exception of military infrastructure. In 1934, only seven building permits were issued for the entire city (Harris 1974:22). The 1935 California International Exposition at Balboa Park and continued military spending helped turn the situation around, however, by encouraging construction and Logan Heights soon rebounded.

By 1946, Logan Heights was densely settled with a variety of community services (1946 Sanborn). Motorbus service had generally replaced streetcars (Harris 1974:17). There were four schools: Luther Burbank Public School (replaced the Logan Heights Public School at the corner of Sicard and Marcey), the Memorial Junior High School (2800-2864 Marcey), the Roman Catholic Guadalupe School (1700-1714 Kearney), and the Lowell School (1775-1779 Newton). Lowell School was the first within the plan area. The expanded Logan Heights Public Library had relocated to 2801 Marcey from its 1921 location on Logan Avenue. Fire Department No. 7 continued to served the neighborhood from 1896 National Avenue. The neighborhood also had a post office (2635-2637 Marcey, outside the plan area). Twelve churches were present in Logan Heights in 1946, two of which were located within the plan area: the

Pentecostal Free Mission (1846 Logan) and the First Seventh Day Adventist Spanish American Church (1861 Logan).

Other community services constructed by 1946 included the Neighborhood House (1801-1809 National), a doctor's office (2088 Logan), and the Guadalupe Health Center operated by Our Lady of Guadalupe Church (1724 Kearney, outside the plan area) (1946 Sanborn). Two veterinarian hospitals also operated within the plan area: the Dog and Cat Hospital (2773-2775 Main) and the Small Animal Hospital (1930 Main).

Although the commercial center of Logan Heights continued to expand along Logan Avenue (it was most concentrated between Dewey and South 26th Streets **[Figure 13]**), businesses were scattered throughout the community. By 1946, the Barrio Logan plan area contained twenty-two restaurants (in comparison to only one in 1921), three drugstores, a bank, a hotel (1819-25 Newton), a laundry, and a nursery. A second movie house (1796-1798 Logan) showed films several blocks northwest from the original movie house at 2171-2175 Logan. Numerous car-related businesses within the plan area served the needs of the neighborhood's automobile owners including thirteen gas stations, nine auto repair shops, and a used car sales lot. Prominent commercial building were built in the simple and inexpensive Block style, though some were also built in the Mission Revival or Streamline Moderne styles **(Plate 10)**.

Plate 10. Examples of commercial buildings in the plan area.
(left) 1894 Main Street, built 1930, designed by Charles and Edward Quayle (Quayle Brothers Architects).
(right) 1701-1715 National Avenue, George Kostakos Building, built 1925, builder Bert Nobel,
City of San Diego Historic Landmark.

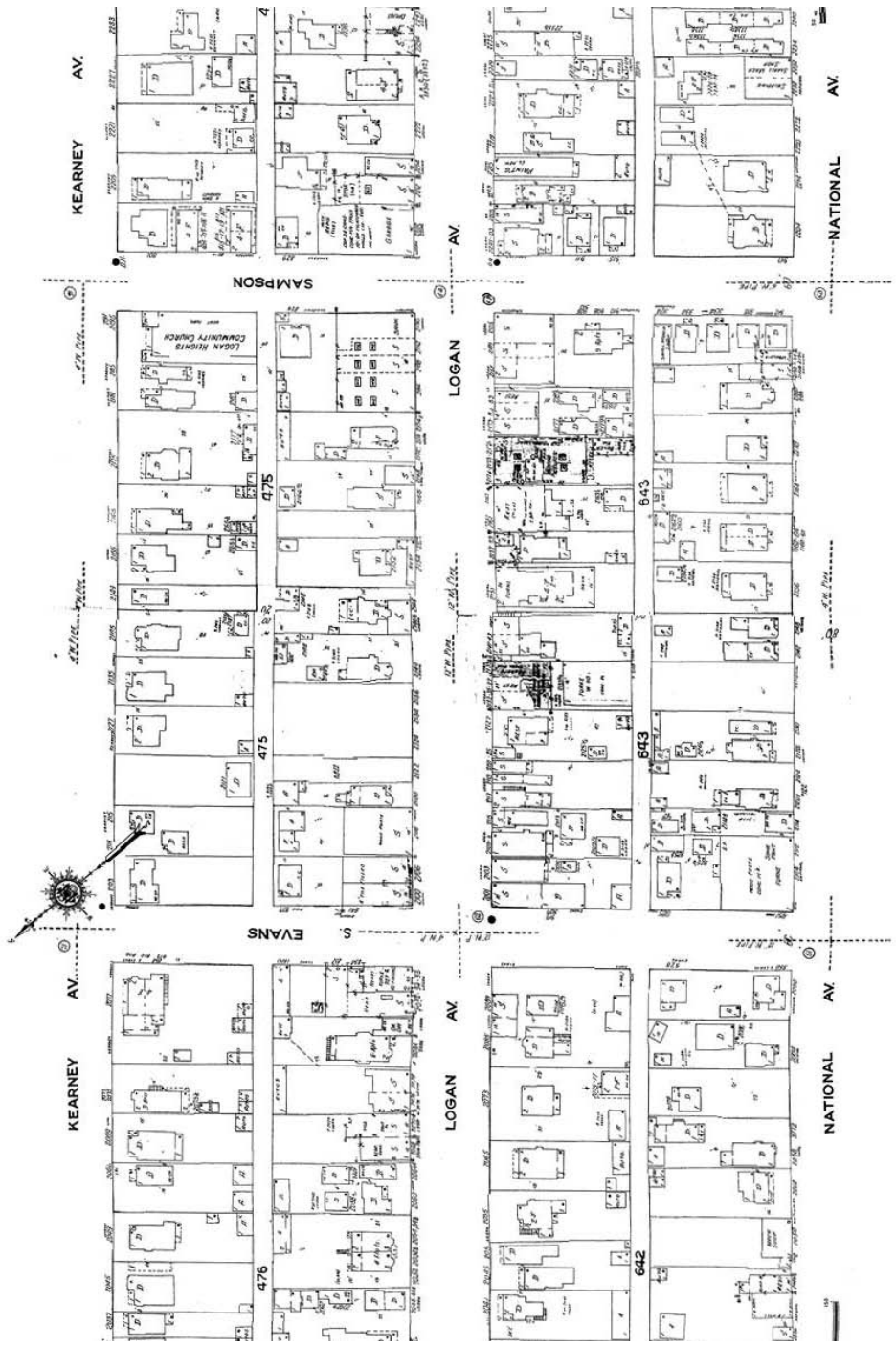


Figure 13. 1946 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of the most concentrated portion of the commercial district on Logan Avenue between Dewey and South 26th Streets. "S" indicates "store" and "D" identifies a "dwelling."

The increase in the number of residents in the plan area between 1920 and 1950 raised the demand for inexpensive, small, and multiple-family housing units. Apartment buildings, duplexes, and bungalow courts, apartment courts, and half courts were built to accommodate the new residents. Additionally, many small single-family residences were constructed on the rear of lots, behind larger and older homes (Figure 14). The new residential construction was built in a variety of architectural styles including Spanish Colonial Revival, Mission Revival, and Minimal Traditional.

Plate 11. Street View, Newton and Cesar Chavez, 1940s
Courtesy of SDHS (Sensor 8-48)

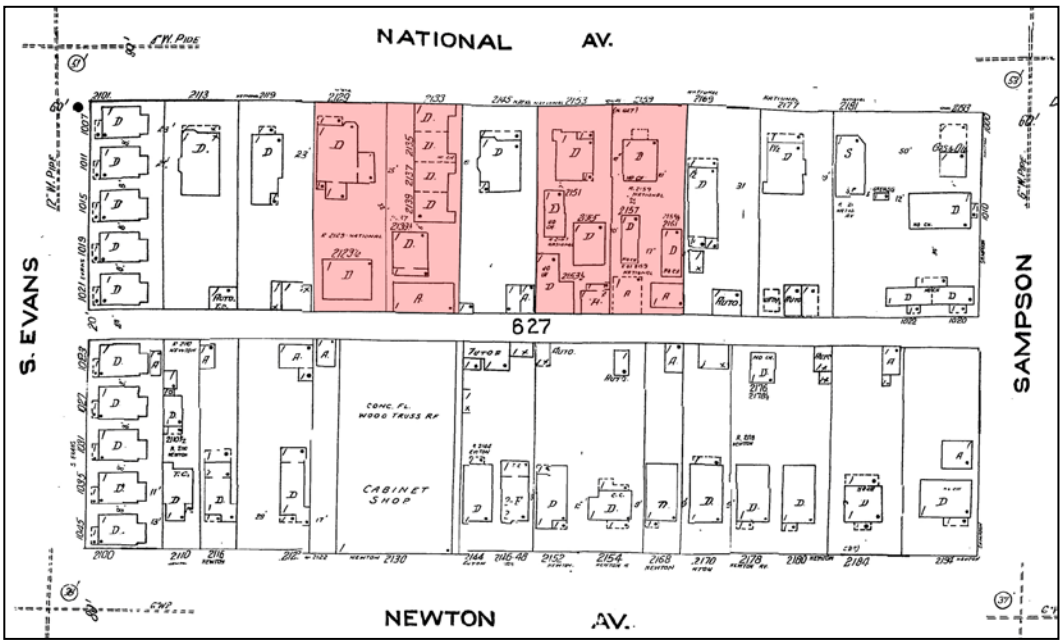


Figure 14. 1946 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map selection. The highlighted lots illustrate some of the varying types of residential construction of the period. From left to right: older dwelling with new house behind, half court with apartments on the alley that replaced a single-family dwelling, grouping of numerous small dwellings behind an older residence, and a new collection of small residences on a single lot.

Whereas there were a few industrial facilities east of the railroad tracks at the beginning of the 1920s, industrial encroachment into the residential and commercial areas dramatically increased by 1946. Six junkyards, auto wrecking, and salvage yards had taken over lots in the plan area (1610, 1684, and 1960 Logan; 1972 and 2075 National; and 2701 and 3330 Main). There were numerous manufacturers interspersed within residences and businesses including door and cabinet shops, a retinning plant, a floor tile manufacturer, several iron works, furniture manufacturing, battery manufacturing, bottling works, and a manufacturer of small cars (2687 National).

Plate 12. Close-up aerial photograph of the plan area during World War II, facing north. The railroad tracks are on the left side of the frame (left of Main Street). The dirt track to the left of the railroad tracks is Harbor Drive. Note the denseness of development at that time. Many of the buildings had outbuildings or second residences behind. *Courtesy of SDHS.*

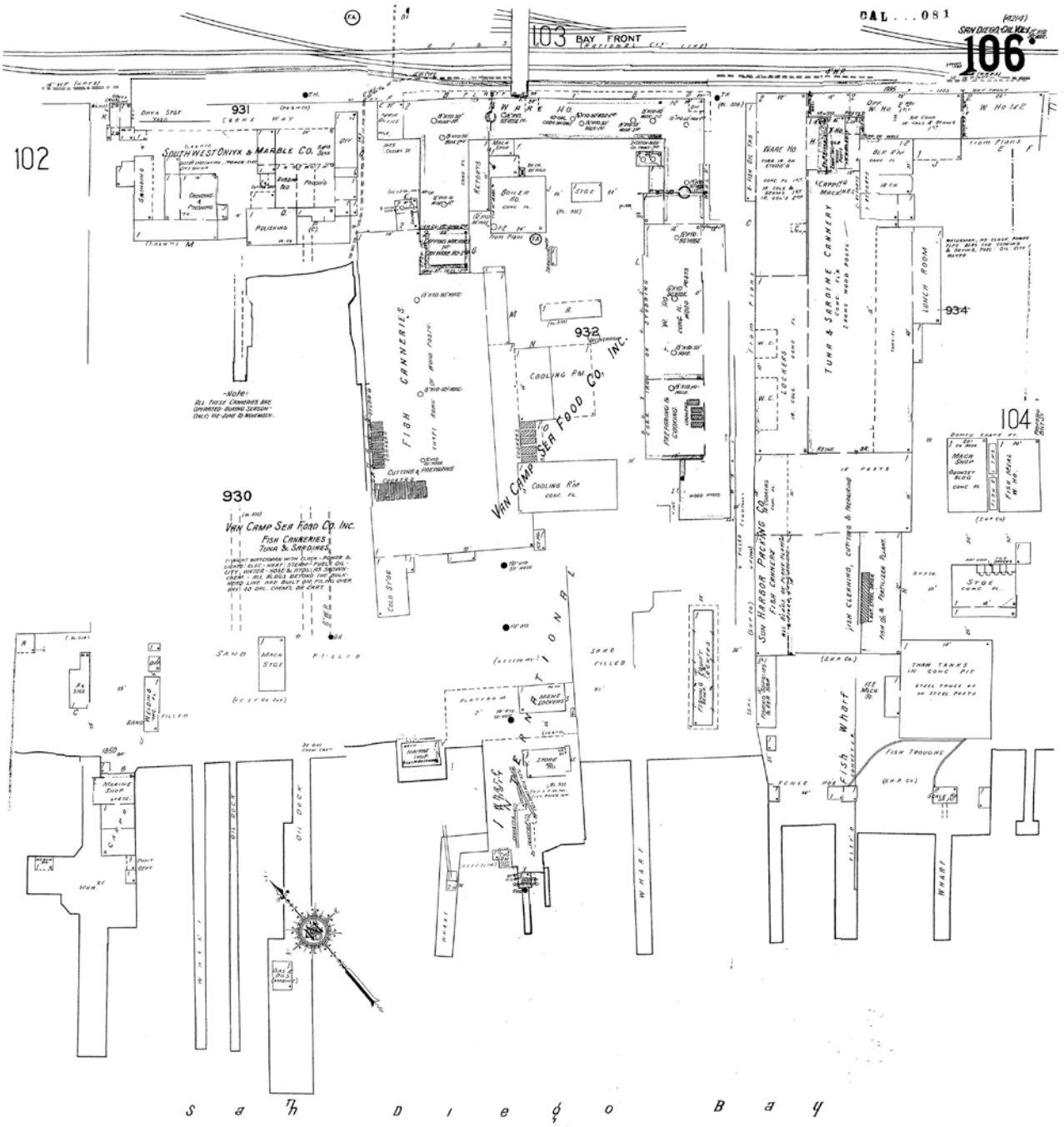
4.4.4 Later Industrial and Naval Bayfront Development (1940s-1950s)

Prior to World War II, the federal government increased its military presence along the bayfront. The Destroyer Base was established at the foot of 32nd Street in 1919. In 1941, the Destroyer Base was officially changed to the U.S. Naval Repair Base. On September 15, 1946, the U.S. Naval Repair Base was redesignated as the United States Naval Station, San Diego, California. The Naval Station facility occupies over 1,100 acres southwest of the plan area.

While San Diego's small shipbuilding industry was focused on fishing vessel construction in the period between 1900 and 1940, prior to World War II companies began to bid on the construction of large naval and commercial shipping crafts (Harris 1974:55). The National Iron Works (later NASSCO), the Harbor Boat and Yacht Company and the San Diego Marine Construction Company were established or expanded on the Barrio Logan bayfront in the mid-1940s and 1950s **(Plate 13)**. The San Diego Marine Construction Company with its wharfs and machinery shops at the base of Sampson Street and National Iron Works (then called Lynch Ship Building Company) and its large overhead crane were located at the base of S. 28th Street (1946 Sanborn). The end of World War II led to a plunge in employment for those working in war-related industries but the outbreak of the Korean War as well as increasing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union once again stimulated the shipbuilding industries in the bayfront in the early 1950s.

Plate 13. National Iron Works (later NASSCO), ca. 1939. The jetty was a Navy landing strip for the U.S. Naval Station planes. ***Courtesy of SDHS (#83:14578-17).***

The tuna and sardine canning industry continued to be a substantial presence on the bayfront during this period though it had consolidated into two major companies by 1946: the Van Camp Seafood Company and the Sun Harbor Packing Company **(Figure 15)**. The Van Camp facility was connected to the American Can Company and warehouse by a bridge over the railroad tracks. The nearby American Processing Company manufactured fish oils and poultry feed to the north of the cannery wharfs. The Kelco Company, a manufacturer of kelp products, had a large facility and wharf south of the canneries **(Figure 16)**.


CAL...081
106
103 BAY FRONT
102
931
SOUTHWEST ONYX & MARBLE CO.
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VAN CAMP SEA FOOD CO. INC.
FISH CANNERIES
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104
930
VAN CAMP SEA FOOD CO. INC.
FISH CANNERIES
TUNA & SARDINES
SAN HARBOR PACKING CO.
FISH CANNERY
TUNA & SARDINE CANNERY
FISH WHARF
SAN DIEGO BAY

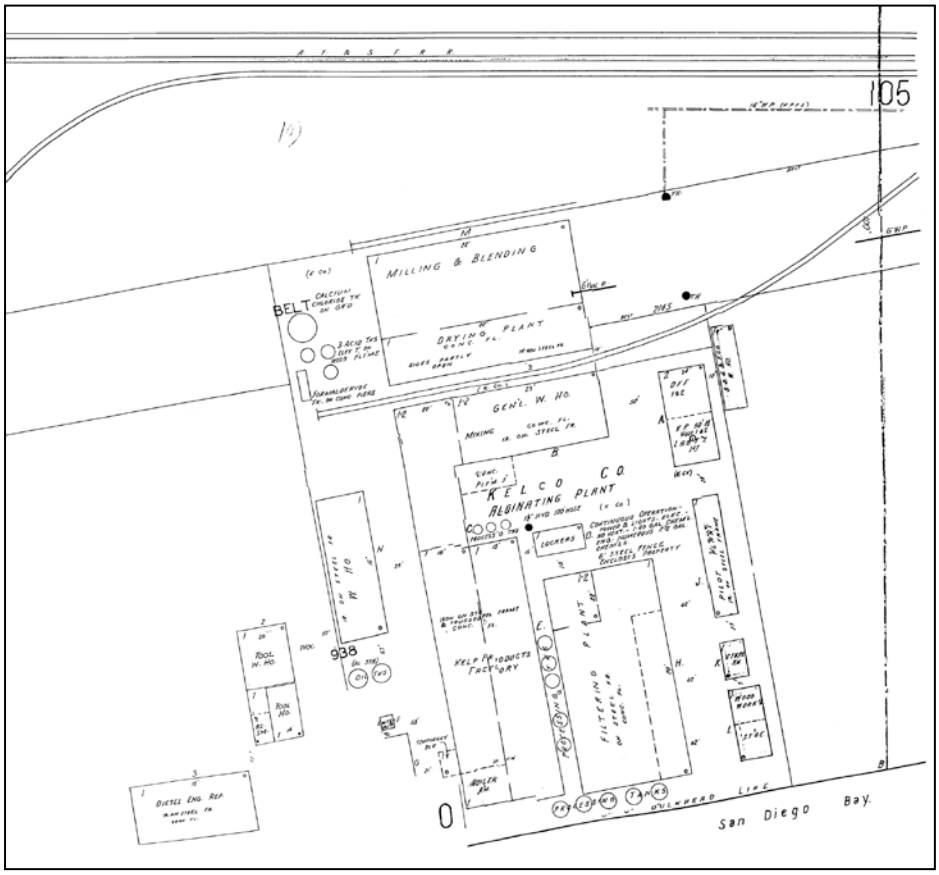

Figure 16. 1946 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map selection showing Kelco Co. plant on the plan area bayfront.

By 1946, a number of industrial uses were present in Barrio Logan including shipbuilding, canning, oil, lumber, and general warehouses. Two grocery warehouses were located east of the railroad tracks at Harbor Drive: the Safeway Stores warehouse (Main between Dewey and S. Evans), and the Alfred M. Lewis Grocers (Main between S. Evans and Sampson) (1946 Sanborn). Numerous oil suppliers such as the General Petroleum Corporation of California, the Texas Company Oil Depot, the E. Johnson Oil Company, the Richfield Oil Corporation Oil Depot, and Standard Oil Company of California operated from the bayfront on lots with large fuel tanks and oil tanks. A new arrival was the Altes Brewing Company and its massive facilities that stretched along Main from Sampson to Schley and included everything from bottling facilities and storage to a coopering workshop and cellars. San Diego Gas and Electric Company operated two facilities along the bayfront, the Silver Gate Power Plant (west of Harbor between S. Evans and Sampson) and a substation (southwest corner of Harbor and Sampson). Other industrial businesses at the time included the Standard Iron Works (1821-1845 Harbor), the McCormick

Figure 15. 1946 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map selection showing canneries and other industries on the plan area bayfront.

Steamship Wharf (between the canneries and Kelco Company), the Southwest Onyx and Marble Company, and, just outside the plan area, the San Diego Arizona Eastern Railroad Company shops (west side of Newton between S. 16th and Sigsbee).

4.4.5 Community Response to Rezoning and Infrastructure Projects/ Chicano Political Activism (1960s-Present)

The neighborhood of Barrio Logan achieved its identity as a consequence of its separation from Logan Heights due to the construction of Interstate 5 in 1963 and the San Diego-Coronado Bay Bridge in 1969, as well as the rezoning of the area from strictly residential to mixed use. The constricting effect of the highway and bridge construction, coupled with commercial uses that multiplied in the midst of residential housing, induced a period of dramatic physical change in Barrio Logan from the 1960s to the 1970s. These changes prompted drastic population decline but also inspired a local Chicano movement that advocated for the rights of the community's residents. Prior to the highway construction that bisected Logan Heights and essentially created Barrio Logan, this community contained the largest Mexican-born and "Spanish surnamed" community in San Diego (Bonilla 2007) though its ethnic makeup also contained a minority of African Americans, European Americans, and Asian Americans (Bonilla 2007:7).

Zoning and Mixed Use Development

During the 1950s, the Cit rezoned Barrio Logan from primarily residential to a mixed us classification. Subsequently, over the next twenty years, the neighborhood experienced a massive influx of automotive scrap yards, particularly along Main, National, Newton, and Logan as well as numerous other industrial businesses housed in large industrial lofts and warehouses (Brandes 1983). According to a Planning Department Non-Residential Land Use Inventory, less than ten percent of the acreage in the plan area was residential by 1963 (Tabler 1978). As a result of the mixed use zoning by the City, significant changes in land use occurred to the neighborhood, with commercial businesses now located adjacent to residences.

Highway and Bridge Construction

The completion of Interstate 5 through the heart of Logan Heights in 1963 rewrote the boundaries of the neighborhood. The interstate splintered Logan Heights in two, with the area to the southwest of Interstate 5 becoming known as Barrio Logan and the area to the northeast known as Logan Heights. "Barrio Logan" likely evolved from the Spanish speaking residents' practice of referring to Logan Heights as the *barrio*, or neighborhood (Bonilla 2007:7). The City officially initiated the use of Barrio Logan to describe the area southwest of the Interstate 5 in the 1970s (Bonilla 2007:7).

The construction of Interstate 5 displaced families and businesses and resulted in the destruction of all the structures in the path of the new freeway (Brandes 1963). It also cut off the neighborhood to the northeast of the interstate from the commercial center on Logan Avenue and made it difficult for those in Barrio Logan to reach the churches and schools on the opposite side **(Figure 17)**. Construction of Interstate 5 took place prior to the implementation of National Environmental Policy Act, the California Environmental Quality Act, and the National Uniform Relocation Act that today protect communities from the potentially damaging effect of major public improvement projects (Rosen and Fisher 2001).

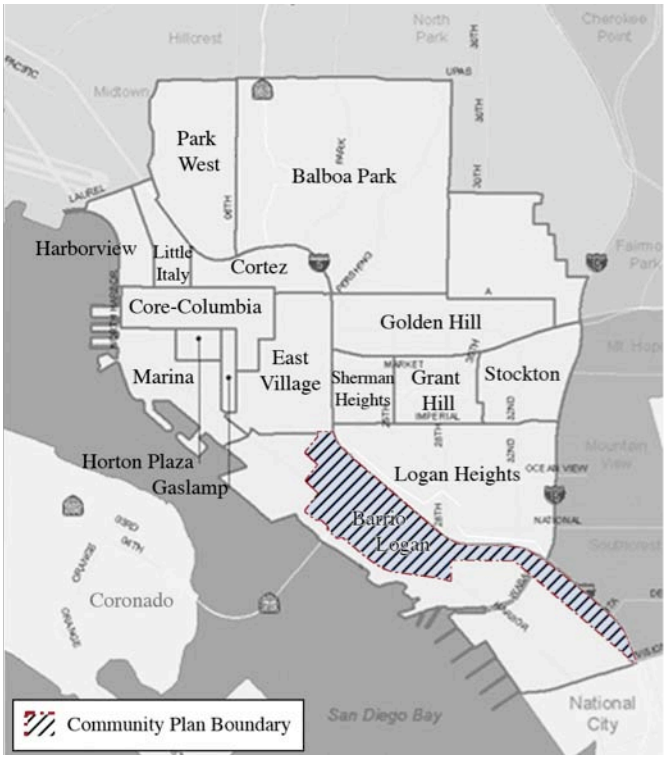

Figure 17. Approximate boundaries of Barrio Logan after 1969 (Norris 1983, Brandes 1983)

The completion of the San Diego-Coronado Bay Bridge in 1969, which towered over Barrio Logan with its on-ramps and support pylons, displaced more families and businesses, creating a dramatic visual change to the neighborhood **(Plate 14)**. The residents were not aware of their rights to protest against the bridge and many felt they had no choice but to leave (Delgado 1998). Barrio Logan's population dropped from 20,000 to 5,000 between 1969 and 1979 and many of the older homes and buildings were razed for industrial structures (Delgado 1998).

Plate 14. Coronado Bridge construction over Barrio Logan in 1969, facing east.
Courtesy of SDHS (#UT-85-08564-2)

Political Activism

During the 1960s and early 1970s the Chicano movement became a powerful force for change and promoted a social movement within the Mexican American community of Barrio Logan and Logan Heights. United by a concern for equal rights, Mexican Americans adopted the terms Chicano and Chicana to identify them not just of Mexican heritage but also of mestizo ethnicity. An important element of the movement was its association with the cultural mythology of Aztlán (Bonilla 2007:64). The Chicano community joined forces to promote political goals such as increasing the number of Chicano candidates, promoting broad-scale voter registration, and passing supportive legislation. Economic goals of the movement including upgrading occupations, creating private businesses, and the United Farm Workers' movement led by Cesar Chavez. Chicano educational goals included reducing school drop-out rates, development of bilingual bicultural programs, and the creation of university courses and programs in Chicano studies (Pitti et al. 1988). The movement also generated a renaissance in art, music, literature, and theatre throughout the Hispanic community (Pitti et al. 1988).

Plate 15. Chicano Park Protest, 1970.
Courtesy of SDHS (#UT-86-I4677-41)

The first Chicano activity in Barrio Logan occurred in the late 1960s when young college students and veterans of the Vietnam War, inspired by the national Chicano movement, instituted some small clean-up projects in the area. Yet it was the 1970 takeover of a 1.8-acre plot of land beneath the San Diego-Coronado Bay Bridge that propelled the movement into the consciousness of the larger San Diego community. In April 1970, a young Chicano activist, Mario Solis, alerted the community to the commencement of construction of a California Highway Patrol station beneath the bridge on the land that City officials had promised as a park. Word spread quickly, and protesters successfully stopped the earth moving activities and occupied the park **(Plate 15)**. The occupation lasted twelve days, after which the City agreed to grant the community the land and surrounding property totaling 7.4 acres (Bonilla 2007:66-70). When it came time to choose a name for the park, the residents chose "Chicano Park" in recognition of the Chicano movement that had been so influential in inspiring the protest. The creation of the park has been cited as the defining event in Barrio Logan's recognition as a Chicano community (Bonilla 2007; Rosen and Fisher 2001).

The Chicano movement revived the Mexican tradition of murals, and many examples of the art are visible in Chicano Park today (Rosen and Fisher 2001). In 1973 and 1974, two teams of Chicano artists, Los Toltecas en Aztlán and El Congresso de Artistas Chicanos en Aztlán, began to paint the murals in the park on the concrete abutments of the bridge. More murals were completed between 1974 and 1975 and Chicano artists from all over the country were involved. Between 1977 and 1981, many of the murals that were painted depicted how industry and industrial pollution in the neighborhood contributed to the low quality of life in Barrio Logan. The murals in Chicano Park continue to be modified as new murals are added and older murals are restored. Today the park serves as a cultural center for the Chicano

community of San Diego. The City's Historical Resources Board designated Chicano Park and its large murals as a local landmark in 1980 (HRB #143). The park and its murals were found eligible for the National Register and placed on the California Register on January 31, 2007 (Rosen and Fisher 2001).

Following the establishment of Chicano Park, a series of community and political organizations formed to support the revitalized Chicano community and provide social services to the residents. Barrio Station (2175 Newton Ave) was established in 1970 to provide educational, artistic, and athletic programs for Barrio Logan youth (Bonilla 2007:98-99). The Chicano Free Clinic, established in the old Neighborhood House building during the takeover of Chicano Park, provided medical services and counseling. By the late 1970s, the clinic became the Logan Heights Family Health Center, which still operates today as a member of the Family Health Care Centers of San Diego (Bonilla 2007:99-100). The organization Developing Unity through Resident for Organizing mobilized at the turn of the 21st century against the potential for gentrification of the neighborhood (Bonilla 2007:101). Additionally, the Chicano Federation of San Diego County was established in 1968 with the purpose of improving living conditions, expanding cultural significance, and increasing political power throughout San Diego County. The Federation moved to Sherman Heights in the early 1980s and continue to provide social services and assistance to Barrio Logan residents (Bonilla 2007:97).

The Mexican American residents of Logan Heights have used the word *barrio,* Spanish for "neighborhood," to describe the area from the early years. Here in the United States, *barrio* has taken on a more loaded meaning, and it is often used to describe an urban Mexican American, poor, and dangerous neighborhood. In its most positive connotation, outsiders and Mexican Americans alike refer to predominantly Mexican American urban neighborhoods as *barrios. Barrios* exist in nearly all major United States cities. After Interstate 5 divided the Logan Heights neighborhood in two in 1963, the northeastern side continued to be known as Logan Heights, but "Barrio" (with a capital B) was used to refer to the southwestern side. Many residents embraced the cultural association that came with the capital "B," claiming Barrio Logan as a Chicano space. Kelsey Barnum Bonilla discusses this concept as the "barrioization" of Logan Heights (Bonilla 2007). She writes that:

> Residents and Chicano activists actively participated in the racialization of Barrio Logan as a Chicano space. Through the takeover of Chicano Park, the establishment of community service organizations, long-standing political struggle over social and physical control of the neighborhood, and cultural expressions ranging from low riding to mural painting, residents seized this place and gave it meaning as a Chicano space (Bonilla 2007).

Nowhere is this "barrioization" more visible than in the landscape of Barrio Logan. The landscape of the Mexican American *barrio* is an intriguing one. Planner James Rojas and geographer Daniel D. Arreola have found a convincing number of similarities of the *barrio* landscape throughout the west and southwest that are also evident in Barrio Logan. Alone, elements of the *barrio* landscape may appear in any neighborhood regardless of its ethnic composition; it is the combination of them that makes them distinct to the *barrio* and sets it apart as a Mexican American neighborhood.

Even though new residential construction was rare during this period, the landscape of Barrio Logan transformed to reflect the ethnic identification of its residents. A building or structure in Barrio Logan

generally looks like a building or structure in any of the early downtown San Diego neighborhoods, consistent with the popular property types and architectural styles of its time. Under closer examination, it is evident that the prominent Mexican American and Chicano residents have contributed to the character of the landscape by introducing elements that have historic validity as specialized patterns of the Mexican American and *barrio* culture (Rojas 1991; Arreola 1988). Several elements of the Mexican American landscape that are visible in Barrio Logan include enclosed and personalized front yards (fences and specialized uses), the use of color to fill blank walls (bright colors, murals, advertising, and graffiti), and religious shrines.

Planner James Rojas based his study of the *barrio* landscape (Rojas uses the word "environment") on East Los Angeles, considering both the tangible and intangible characteristics that illustrate the way residents have created an open-air culture out of streetscapes, buildings, and public facilities from an environment that was not intended for them (Rojas 1991). East Los Angeles has many similarities to Barrio Logan, primarily because of its location in southern California and the fact that it is an urban neighborhood of homes and buildings built by European Americans that have been adapted by Mexican Americans and immigrants. Rojas presents three ways Mexican Americans have contributed to create the *barrio* environment: the people (intangible), the props (tangible), and a unique vernacular form (tangible). Similarities to Rojas' props (the front yard fence, personalized yards, and the lack of blank wall space), and the East Los Angeles Vernacular house type (extroverted housescape, multi-purpose driveway, and outgoing porch) can also be found in Barrio Logan.

Plate 16.
Chicano Park Takeover Mural

Geographer Daniel Arreola, in his many studies of housescapes in urban *barrios* of the Southwest, has identified three characteristics of the Mexican American housescape: fence-enclosed front properties, exterior house color, and an occasional religious shrine in the front yard. He also considers the place of murals as an element of the landscape. Examples of these neighborhood elements can be seen in **Plates 16 through 19**. He describes these elements as "part of a complex historic code" derived from the Spanish Christian influences from Iberia that are blended with the Spanish Colonial, Mexican Indian, and Anglo-American traditions in Mexico and the American Southwest (Arreola 1988).

Plate 17. Personalized, fenced front yard in use by residents. 2679 Newton Ave.

Not all the physical manifestations of the historic Mexican American culture offered by Rojas and Arreola are present in Barrio Logan. The omission of some elements serves to illustrate Barrio Logan's individual character, a result of the people that have lived there and the events that have occurred there. Observations in Barrio Logan led to identification of several character-defining elements of the Mexican American historic vernacular cultural landscape in

Barrio Logan: enclosed and personalized front yards, the use of color to fill blank walls (bright colors, murals, advertising, and graffiti), and a religious shrine. There are surely other elements that contribute to the Barrio Logan's complex and rich cultural landscape that were not discovered; nonetheless, theses elements can serve as a foundation for further research.

Plate 18. Bright paint on a commercial building, 2185-95 Logan Ave.

Fencing that extends to the very edges of the front yard is the most common of the characteristics identified by Arreola and Rojas and the most frequent element observed in Barrio Logan **(Plate 17)**. Of the nearly 500 properties included in the recent historic resources survey of Barrio Logan, nearly 90 percent of the single-family and multiple-family homes had an enclosure of some type around the front yard. Residents personalize their front yards with gardens, shrines, garden furniture, and personal effects.

The use of color is common throughout Barrio Logan, as is the decoration of space so that there are "no blank walls" as Rojas describes it. The use of bright colors is common on Mexican American houses as well as commercial structures in Barrio Logan **(Plate 18)**. Murals can be found throughout Barrio Logan on the sides of commercial buildings **(Plate 19)**, new multiple-family residences, and, most prominently, in Chicano Park. Many stores in Barrio Logan are decorated with original art, mixed with advertising text style known as *amontonado* (stacking). Graffiti, known as *placas* in the barrio, is another form of color that is used by gangs to mark off space.

Plate 19.
Store with murals at 2001 National Ave.; Chicano Park shrine

Shrines, far less common than the use of enclosures and color in *barrios* according to Arreola and Rojas, are still usually found in front yards in Mexican American neighborhoods. No yard shrines were observed in Barrio Logan, but one communal shrine is present in Chicano Park, which is devoted to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico **(Plate 19)**.

New construction in Barrio Logan during this period was primarily limited to industrial buildings, though in 1981 the San Diego trolley service began stopping along Harbor Drive, on a route that was built over the defunct San Diego and Arizona Eastern Railroad tracks. A second park, Cesar Chavez Park, was completed in 1990, providing the neighborhood residents with their only access to the bayfront. Higher density residential complexes and commercial centers have been built in the last decade and plans for new commercial centers are in place to promote the economic revitalization of the community.